A

SEQUEL

TO THE

PEOPLING OF UTOPIA;

OR, THE

SUFFICIENCY OF SOCIALISM

FOR

HUMAN HAPPINESS:

BEING

A FURTHER COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL AND RADICAL SCHEMES.

By SAMUEL BOWER.

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A SEQUEL

TO THE

PEOPLING OF UTOPIA.

A union of the Radicals and the Socialists now only is wanted to revolutionize the world.

Apothegm of Robert Owen.

The hypothetical proposition to move the earth, did not more certainly indicate the possession of an extensive knowledge of physical agencies by the philosopher of old, than is marked, by the sentence we have chosen for our motto, the degree of acquaintance with moral agencies held by the man in whose mind has been conceived the stupendous project of relieving the entire family of mankind from the dominion of priests and kings, and establishing an universal and permanent peace among men.

The number, wants, and capabilities of the movement party in this country; and the condition, power, and resources of the opposing section; the direct control exercised by Great Britain over many important divisions of the globe, and the multitude of her relations with every country on its surface—these relations about to be indefinitely multiplied by the establishment of a safe, easy, speedy, and regular system of communication across the broadest waters of the earth—are positive quantities in the political calculation which has led to the bold assertion now under our notice. But though the influence of British institutions and character, improved to the extent contemplated by Mr. Owen, would be felt most intensely in every corner of the world—and that great improvement would follow, in a short space of time, the union of the Radical with the Socialist body—the Owenian, like the Archimedean proposition, lacks an essential condition until such union be accomplished.

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To bring about a consummation so important is the duty of every Socialist. Certain circumstances, however, at present exist, of a nature considerably to retard it. The principal of these seem to arise out of the belief on the part of a large number of Socialists, who, like myself, have sought political freedom in universal suffrage and its auxiliary measures, that the realization of their present views may be hastened by Radical agitation. Now if it can be shown that this agitation—requiring, as it does, the sacrifice of large individual and class interests—necessarily provokes an hostility great in proportion to the benefits to be obtained, and is, therefore, most indefinite as to the time of its results, whilst consequences are supposed involving its promoters in a line of conduct wholly at variance with the spirit of Socialism—and that to proceed at once to the formation of communities would be to arrive, in a definite period of time and with the co-operation of the parties now most opposed to change, at a state of freedom more perfect than is comprehended in the most democratic reclamations—then confidence in the sufficiency of his system will be imparted to the Socialist, and the Radical will be prepared to listen to and receive a knowledge of the laws of belief and action, which knowledge is indispensable to his becoming a promoter of this grandest of all revolutions, and a sharer in its manifold advantages.

Every advocate of universal suffrage sees in it an instrument for securing to the labouring population—to which portion of society the chances are a thousand to one that he belongs—a larger share of the wealth which they alone produce; while, on the other hand, every opponent of that measure of justice, who—there is the same amount of probability—has neither lot nor part with them, as clearly sees in its concession something incompatible with the interests of the more easy classes. It is quite natural that the prospect of loss with these latter, should overweigh considerations of abstract political right; nor is it less natural that ignorance of the means of reconciling the interests of their oppressors with the advancement of their own, should compel the former to base their claims upon the abstract principles of man's equality. The

state of the case being such, we may easily understand the course which each party must think it their duty to follow. The labourers not perceiving in the nature of things any necessity for continuing a sacrificial part of society, determine, not inconsistently, to obtain possession of the franchise by whatever means may seem best suited to that purpose, not even excepting a resort to physical force. Not less fatally determined upon the retention of their present position, are the men of property and privilege; the surrender of that position implying to them exaction and loss only; and the necessary and eternal approximation of society to first principles being, at the point in divergence from the straight line of justice to which circumstances have carried them, either unseen or misunderstood.

Whether, in this contest of right against might, the Radicals—supposing them to continue unaware of the vantage ground which Socialism offers—are likely ever to be impelled to risk its issue on their strength in arms, and with what chances of success, is to be judged of from the degree of suitability of the means which they now employ, and the array of force at the command of their opponents.

It has been stated that there exists a necessity for claiming universal suffrage on the ground only of the abstract principle of man's equality. Let those who incline to dispute the truth of this assertion, attempt to establish a denial by commending that measure to the various parties who thrive by privilege and collusion, *on the ground of its practical consequences.* Let them say to the Queen: we want universal suffrage, that the people may enjoy the difference between your Majesty's income and the salary of the President of a Republic. To the aristocracy: we want universal suffrage, that the people may have restored to them the ownership of the land. To the clergy of the Establishment: we want universal suffrage, that your incomes may be applied to relieving the necessities of the people. To placemen, fundholders, naval and military officers, lawyers, bankers, capitalists, and manufacturers: we want universal suffrage, that the people may cease to lose that which you severally pocket through exclusive legislation. Let them do this,

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and become convinced of their folly in witnessing the increased determination to resistance which they would have called forth. Their sagacity would further be similarly confirmed in the declaration of their associates, that they had, by this procedure, "damaged the cause of reform." But their amazement would only reach its climax, when they found that the very reasons which the promoters of Radicalism were interdicted from urging upon the attention of the ruling classes, were those upon which they necessarily most depended for stimulating to action the people! When, however, this error of the ingenuous Radical has been corrected by experience, and he has learned to apply his arguments according to the most approved method of partizan warfare, a formidable objection remains to be disposed of; for if the propertied classes as clearly perceive—and why should they not?—a compromising of their interests, in the concession of universal suffrage, as do the Radicals, wherein is the utility of attempting to conceal that such is in reality expected to be the case? And if considerations of the general welfare have so little weight with them, as it has been assumed that they have, when put in the balance against their own private interests, and which assumption human nature and experience justify, what reasonable expectation can there exist of that concession ever being made except to physical force, or the dread of it? The answer to this is, that there is the alternative of no other course than the one now pursued—speaking here as above, without reference to that marked out by Socialism—until the people shall have made up their minds to use physical force. Well then, suppose physical force resolved on—suppose the ruling party to have exhausted every means of sowing division, or, so heedless of revolt, or incapable of palliating the evils of misgovernment, as to have allowed the great body of the working classes all at once to become the victims of intolerable suffering; or, suppose none of those things to have happened, but that, through the continued progress of knowledge, the people should have acquired a sort of philosophical, Cato-like love of freedom, and be prepared to do battle with their oppressors (who, by the bye, are oppressors *malgré eux*) what

is there upon which to found a hope that the contest would be decided in their favour?

It must be borne in mind that the term *the people*, serving to distinguish the ruled from the ruling classes, is not more the exponent, from time to time, of their intelligence, than of their numbers and other powers of reaction; and, therefore, all conjectures as to the result of a collision between the two parties must be framed with reference as well to their intelligence as to the proportion of these powers possessed by them respectively at an antecedent period—the causes, immediate or remote, of any change in their relative strength being to be found at that period.

A calm consideration of the circumstances of our social condition, has, produced in me the conviction, that there are no causes now in operation of a nature to stimulate to political insurrection, which shall not be effectually counteracted by others of an opposite description, either in the prevention of that consequence, or of its designed effect.

There are, indeed, great numbers upon whom poverty presses heavily and enduringly, but the desire of *bien aise* on the part of the rich, impels them continually to lighten, in some degree at least, the evil; the revulsion of which, however, is not upon the enactment, but the administration merely of the laws. There is even a more numerous class, whose members know, alternately, destitution and comparative comfort; and, it may be, that a majority of these regard exclusive legislation as the source where originate the immediate causes of their suffering; but it is questionable whether the exhortations to rely upon peaceful agitation alone for a remedy, which have invariably for many years, until very recently, been made to them, by every friendly writer and speaker, have not produced corresponding convictions which it will require much time to remove. Then with how many of these does the question of parliamentary representation lose its interest during the ever-recurring seasons of commercial prosperity; and of the remainder, what proportion are able to make the suffrage the object of their undivided attention, when some legislative benefit—the abolition of an obnoxious law, or the removal of an impost—is to be obtained by an apparently slight, and, as it were, merely momentary effort?

If we add to the classes already named, such working men as have not been exposed to the evils of poverty, and, presuming upon their better opportunities to acquire knowledge, allow them—notwithstanding the absence in their case of that great fomenter of rebellion, physical want—to rank among the most determined assertors of universal suffrage, we shall then have nine-tenths of the entire force which the Radicals are able to muster. Now then, suppose, whatever number existing circumstances render it probable might be induced to put themselves in a way to impede the operations of the government; and, on the other hand, estimate the force—military, magisterial, and constabulary—at the immediate command of that government; then cast a glance at the numbers, wealth, means of communication and of combination, of the various classes of land-holders, fund-holders, capitalists, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, &c., whose instrument the government merely is, and who would immediately make that government the depositary of more enormous powers than it even now possesses; and what could ensue, but the defeat of the popular party, accompanied with much bloodshed and misery, and followed by incalculable delay in the attainment of their just rights? And let the fearful collision come whenever it might, could the result of it be otherwise? If the propertied classes be now so formidable, in point of numbers, wealth, and other means of offence and defence, is it probable that they shall be less so at any future period? Is not the province of manual labour continually being invaded by the spirit of contrivance, and wealth and numbers added to the classes which already have more of both than is compatible, considered in reference to competitive society, with the freedom and happiness of their fellowmen? Let the friends of liberty ponder well on this fact, that every succeeding year adds to the array of force with which they have to contend, thus lessening the chances of successful revolution by means such as we are now contemplating, and they will scarcely fail to perceive that a necessity has arisen for the application of other and superior means; and, perceiving this, to recognize those means in the line of action pointed out by Socialism.

Before attempting to show that the proceedings of Socialism have the characteristics of science, namely, simplicity and effectiveness, we will just point out the uncertainty as to time, and the secondary nature of the advantages which are expected to flow from universal suffrage, admitting that object to have been gained.

It is obvious that had we universal suffrage to-morrow, we should not, as a nation, possess a single particle more of wealth on that account; and, therefore, the working classes could only be benefited according as they took steps to bring about and maintain a more equal distribution of the national wealth. Judging from the disagreement of opinion upon the method of doing this, which obtains among the various leaders of the Radical party, it would appear that they are completely unaware of the new principle upon which all legislation must thenceforward be based. A Radical government could be founded upon no other principle than that of AFFORDING TO ALL EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES; and the application of that principle to every measure of legislation would, therefore, be an act of the clearest necessity. During the process of the reduction of the public expenditure (apart from the question of the debt) to a republican standard, the appropriation of church property, and the suppression of the minor class of monopolies—of which the corn laws create one, and that perhaps the largest—comparatively few obstacles—though these few would be of no inconsiderable difficulty—would interpose, because what was lost by public functionaries, priests, landholders, and a few trading companies or individuals, would be gained by the mass of capitalists, great and small; but no sooner should it be attempted to embody the new principle in measures affecting the collective interests of the landholders and capitalists—and then only could the poorer classes expect to be benefited—than the true nature of the difficulties which practical Radicalism has to encounter, would become apparent. Although, as it is easy to see, the new principle of legislation would require the debt to be cancelled, private property in the soil to be abolished, and the establishment of a monetary system upon just principles, as imperatively as it would require the lesser

measures of reform, yet the fact of there being so great an absence of unanimity, with respect to the manner of disposing of both classes of measures, on the part of the Radical leaders, is conclusive as to a great length of time being wasted in settling them.

That they would ultimately be settled, in a manner to accord with the demands of justice, is an argument in favour of the policy we are examining, which dwindles to the least possible degree of force when compared with the assertion, founded upon incontrovertible facts, that *the inhabitants of a community would command, in a greater degree, the means of happiness, than would the same number of persons out of community, with their share of all the wealth which England now contains, after that wealth had been distributed in equal proportions to every one living upon its surface.* Whilst, on the other hand, the necessary adoption of the principles and practices of Socialism, which would be consequent upon the continued application of the Radical principle of affording to all equal opportunities, furnishes to the Socialist a ground of appeal for the co-operation of his Radical fellow-countrymen, which must be perfectly irresistible when accompanied with proofs that these practices may be forthwith begun, and made to benefit every individual of the existing generation.

We now, then, proceed to furnish these proofs.

It may be safely affirmed, that a community offers advantages to the working classes, greater, more varied, and lasting, than any they can enjoy in the most perfect state of competitive society. It is clear, too, that those desirous of entering into community need not wait until a majority of their fellow-countrymen are similarly disposed, but may do so as soon as they become in number a few hundreds or thousands, and possessed of sufficient land and capital; and that this process may be continued from the formation of the first community, the benefits increasing with every succeeding one, and the difficulties being diminished.

But it is objected, that inasmuch as the working classes are, comparatively, without capital and land, and that only a small number, as compared with the masses, have em-

braced the principles of the system, the process of forming communities must necessarily be an extremely slow one; and, therefore, the time at which any considerable number of persons can be brought to inhabit them, very far distant. It rests with the advocates of Socialism to show that plenty of both land and capital will be at the service of the labouring classes as soon as ever they shall require land and capital for the purposes of community; and that the principles of the Social system may, in an exceedingly brief space of time, be understood and received by the entire mass of the people of England.

First, then, with respect to the spread of the Social views, let us lay down a few principles by which all revolutions of opinions and creeds have ever been, and ever must be, regulated. They are these following.

The force with which a new conviction operates upon any individual, is determined by the degree of its apparent capability of augmenting his happiness, and agreement with the convictions previously received by him:

A new conviction is least easily received when it appears only in the smallest degree capable of augmenting the happiness of the individual, and most to disagree with his previous convictions; and most easily received, when it appears in the greatest degree capable of augmenting his happiness, and least to disagree with his previous convictions;

And any conviction, or set of convictions, of a nature to induce belief, would, if communicated to a million, or any greater number of persons, at the same moment, be received by them as soon as by one thousand, or any smaller number of persons.

THE TIME, THEREFORE, AT WHICH A GIVEN SET OF NEW CONVICTIONS SHALL BE RECEIVED, DEPENDS UPON THEIR POWER OF COUNTERACTING PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS, AND THE MEANS OF INTERCOURSE KNOWN TO, AND ENJOYED BY, MANKIND.

After allowing for the influence of a priesthood, become, perhaps, more tolerant than their predecessors as their dogmas have been unsettled by science, and their strength impaired by division; and of moral principles, whose incapacity to produce happiness is recorded in the history

of every past and existing government and political institution, and is in course of being rendered more flagrantly apparent by the brilliant successes of co-operative expedients now so frequent, the amount of this counteracting power belonging to the set of convictions which express the principles, facts, inductions, and practical consequences of the Social system, is to be ascertained by considering that,

In community there will be plenty of good food and clothing, with comfortable dwelling for all, because these are indispensable and must be first provided.

Labour will be light and pleasant,—light, because all will labour, and the helps of science will be freely resorted to,—pleasant, because all the muscular and mental energies may be exercised in succession under the most favourable circumstances—on the green earth, in the pure air, or in the well-ventilated and beautiful room.

The intercourse of its inhabitants will be free, unconstrained, and delightful; because there will be no opposing interests, no individual pretensions, no concealment, no anger, hatred, or malice, where all shall be equal and equally trained to act in accordance with the knowledge that "the character of every individual is formed wholly for, and not by him."

Science, the fine arts, and literature, will be cultivated to an extent hitherto unknown; because by science we subdue physical evil—by the fine arts, we render harmonious, and invest with beauty, the external forms of things—and by literature, we are able to take cognizance of all past and present knowledge, and to link our entire being with every succeeding age. A course of training, begun at birth and never departed from, giving us the inclination, and leisure the opportunies, to pursue these studies.

All may travel, and all will, for we are only safe from error in an enlarged sphere of action and observation; and there will be none unable to enjoy the diversity of nature, or to feel sympathy with their fellow-beings, whatever portion of the globe they may inhabit.

The inhabitants of communities will not fear want either for themselves or children, for the knowledge to

produce cannot with them retrogress, nor the land they inhabit become less fertile, and all must for ever equally inherit and possess.

No fear of death, or of a priest-imagined hell after death, will be in the slightest degree felt by any individual; for every one will see in the necessity for his own death a continuance of life and happiness to those to whom he has given birth, and in a life spent in accordance with reason, justice, and benevolence, the complete fulfilment of every ordination which has respect unto his being.

Lastly, liberty will be perfect, and tyranny unattempted; for the speech and action of every individual will be known by his fellows to be to him truth and happiness; the former being tempered by benevolence, and identity of interest rendering the latter inoffensive; and the recorded crime and folly of exclusive rule will for ever continue effectually to repress all desire for personal or party domination.

Reference to the triumphant progress of the Social principles during the exceedingly brief period that they have been presented to the public, in connexion with arrangements for carrying them into practice, which are approved of by an every-day application for other purposes—to the numbers, talent, and devotedness of their adherents—to the number of Social Institutions crowded with attentive hearers in nearly every populous district in England, and to the excitement visible among the priests and those whom they hold in mental bondage, prompting to oral and written discussions and extraordinary exertions to raise schools, churches, chapels, &c. will serve in some measure to denote the actual strength of the new opinions and corroborate the principles before laid down.

But if such has been the progress of the Social views with the smallest amount of pecuniary and other means at the service of their advocates, the fewest facts to illustrate the theory and the strongest motives of self-interest to deter from an avowal of belief in them, what shall that progress be when communities shall be in actual existence? when indemnity for injury, and an asylum from persecution can be offered, and the advantages of the system shall have become visible, palpable, demonstrable? when

what is now only understood by those whose reasoning faculties have been more fully developed, or, who have been least exposed to the perilous influence of the priesthood, avowed only by the morally most courageous, and known to but a minor portion of society, shall be made plain to an inferior order of minds, determine the morally more timid openly to avow and support the new principles, and have become a topic of interest to all?

Taking for granted, then, that the Socialists will be able to establish communities, and that these shall be found eminently successful, let us see what are the facilities we now possess, and the additional ones which we are likely ere long to possess, of intercommunicating a knowledge of the fact and circumstances connected with their existence.

Arrangements are in progress, and shortly to be completed, by which the most distant parts of the island may be visited during the lapse of a few hours, and by means of which, in one week, half the population might be congregated at any given place in it.

Arrangements exist, in the shape of towns, manufactories, &c.; commercial, political, economical, literary, scientific, and other societies, by which the individuals composing the numerous divisions and subdivisions of society are constantly brought into close contact with each other.

An arrangement exists, and is under the care and management of the government, by which any one may at a certain cost, unrestrictedly, confidentially, and rapidly, communicate with others at a distance; and appearances warrant the conclusion, that the cost of such communications will soon be so much reduced as to make this arrangement all but universally applicable.

Arrangements exist, by which vast numbers of the people are supplied, daily, weekly, and at longer intervals, with a knowledge of whatever happens in society—these arrangements admitting, according to the extent to which information can be obtained, of the most minute and faithful reports being given on any subject, *and are of such a nature as to make it the highest interest of the parties controlling them to furnish such reports in the*

largest quantity upon these subjects which are most interesting to the greatest number of persons.

Thus it is evident that whenever the Social system shall, by working out highly beneficial results, have become a subject of deep interest with the people, our unrivalled means of intercourse will allow of that feeling of interest being promptly and amply satisfied, and those results immediately followed by a corresponding change in the convictions of the people.

We have now to make good the assertion that enough of land and capital will be at the service of the working classes as soon as they are prepared to form communities.

Considering land as a thing to be purchased with capital—a marketable commodity—we will, as before, in the first place lay down certain principles on which capitalists, as such, invariably act.

Capital is issued when there is a prospect of its being returned with interest, and most capital is issued when there is the greatest prospect of its being returned with the greatest amount of interest.

The working classes may therefore have the use of capital, and through it of land, whenever they can pay interest and give security for the principal, AND IF THEY CAN OFFER BETTER SECURITY OR PAY MORE INTEREST THAN ANY OTHER PARTIES, THEY MAY HAVE THE USE OF AN UNLIMITED AMOUNT OF CAPITAL.

The ability of the labourers to pay the highest amount of interest is abundantly proved by the fact of what they now actually pay, or, in other words, what is retained by the capitalists. Upon a capital of, say £400,000,000, five millions of labourers produce to the value of £300,000,000, of which sum two thirds (£200,000,000) is paid to, or retained by, the capitalists, and the remaining £100,000,000 constitutes the reward of the labourers' toil.* The relation now subsisting between the individual labourer and the capitalist may then be expressed as follows :—

* The actual number of every description of producers is more than double what is here given, but as the additional capital upon which they are employed is only increased in about the same ratio, whilst the advantages to the capitalists are undiminished, the relation between the two parties remains as herein stated.

Labourer, Dr. in account with Capitalist, Cr.

	Day's Labour.		Day's Labour.
To £20, or produce of	104½	By use of £80 Capital, or produce of	313
Balance in favour of Capitalist, £40, or produce of	208½	(Sundays left out)	
	313		313

Now, let the labourers borrow capital, and employ it on their own account, in Community, and the case would then stand thus:—

Capitalist, Dr. in account with Labourer, Cr.

	Day's Labour.		Day's Labour.
To £4, or 5 per cent. on £80, or produce of, say	21	By £60, or produce of	313
Balance in favour of labourer, £56, or produce of, say ..	292	(Sundays left out.)	
	313		313

So that whilst the labourer now only receives £20 for his year's toil, he would then receive 56! and, instead of, as now, labouring two hundred and eight days every year for the capitalist, he would then only labour twenty-one days for him!!

In the event of the working classes becoming borrowers of capital for the purposes which we are contemplating, there would be absolute freedom from risk for a considerable portion of such capital, namely, the amount of it expended in the purchase of land, whilst for the proper application of the remainder the strongest possible guarantee would be found in the practical knowledge possessed by the borrowers, and the so much higher degree in which they would find their interests promoted by such application.

We are thus brought to a stage in the process of causation, where, after having made due allowance for opposing prejudices, we may compute by special analogy the

time requisite to form and inhabit any given number of communities, and so mark on time's calendar the various epochs of the declension and extinction of existing creeds and forms of government, and of the strife, violence, and misery which they occasion.

The present moment furnishes, in the history of rail-roads, an admirable instance of the ease and rapidity with which the wants of the people may be gratified through the instrumentality of capital. Supposing then the advantages of communities to have been proved by actual experiment, and the wishes of the people in their favour to have been as strongly expressed as in the case of rail-roads, the following analogy or parallel might be drawn—

The first public rail-road completed, and made evident to be a great improvement upon the then existing description of roads, in the year 1830 :

In the year 1838, or eight years afterwards, forty millions of money were in course of being expended in the construction of rail-roads.

Suppose that in the year 1840, the first community in England should be completed, and proved to be a decidedly superior means of producing happiness to any previously enjoyed, and a safe and profitable investment for capital :

Eight years after, 500,000 persons would be living in communities, and there would have been expended for that purpose forty millions, or £80 for each person.

This will be sufficiently astounding, but a closer investigation of the subject enables us to detect other causes not in operation in the example of rail-roads, which must powerfully accelerate the formation of communities.

We have supposed a gross expenditure of forty millions at a cost per individual of £80; the following considerations will, however, show that whilst the latter sum must be considerably diminished, there is scarcely an assignable limit to the increase of the former.

Of the two acres now in cultivation and pasturage for each individual, half an acre will suffice in community,* so that as these were formed, land would be depreciated in value; twenty communities of two thousand individuals each would bring sixty thousand additional acres into the

* Some eminent satisticians make the disproportion much greater.

market; fifty communities, one hundred and fifty thousand acres; one hundred communities, three hundred thousand acres, and so on.

Materials for building, machinery, furniture, stock, &c. &c. would, from the rapid abandonment of the present habitations and pursuits of men, become more abundant and therefore cheaper; and as community succeeded community, and it became evident that all the present arrangements of society were to be superseded by others of a totally different description, the vast outlay which is now constantly taking place would be discontinued, and owners of houses losing their tenants—employers, their work people—shopkeepers, their customers—lawyers, their clients, &c. &c., would soon determine to embark their decaying fortunes in the new Social adventure, finding their highest interest in the necessity thus superinduced of sharing in the rising prosperity of the working classes.

The right uses of land and capital, and the effectual means of preventing pauperism and disorder, having been made manifest, the public lands and monies under the control of the government would be, even whilst that government continued in its present form, made use of after a manner more conformable to the new principles, which thus compelling the employment of all wealth, both private and public, to bring about their own predominance, would soon enable the co-operators to take charge of the entire national interests and direct the national energies.

It would not be difficult to show the extreme probability of there being five millions instead of five hundred thousand persons brought into communities during the period named in the previous parallel; but the prospect of half a million human beings raised in so short a period from poverty and dependance to a state of permanent comfort, is so far beyond any thing which Radicalism has to offer, that I willingly refrain from drawing further conclusions. It is not so easy, however, to repress one's feelings of amazement at the wondrous facilities for human advancement enjoyed by this generation. To take away by means of the rich man's wealth, the rich man's exclusive power—to subvert the influence of the priest and the power of the monarch, by certain mere manual and mechanical opera-

tions, and the inculcation of a few self-evident truths; and at the same time to confer on these parties greater wealth, power, and influence, but co-ordinately and co-equally with their fellow beings, is a mode of reformation so superior to any ever yet propounded, as not only to excite admiration and astonishment, but to call for our warmest gratulations.

The great business, then, of the age is to form communities; when that shall have been done the people can no more refuse to avail themselves of that social improvement than can they who have occasion to cross the Atlantic now expose themselves to the risk and delay of a passage by even a "liner," when it is equally in their power to embark in a steam-ship, with the prospect of a much more speedy termination to the voyage.

Meanwhile it is a matter of no inconsiderable importance that the working classes, who most need and are first to be benefited by the new system, should be disabused of the idea that universal suffrage is a necessary preliminary to that system being brought into operation. It may be, and such is my opinion, that had we universal suffrage greater facilities would be thereby gained for the formation of communities; but this is not the point to be argued. The question is, whether the time and energies expended in endeavouring to obtain universal suffrage would not be BETTER employed in diffusing a knowledge of the Social principles and applying them to practice. It is one for the serious consideration of these among the Socialists who lend themselves to promote Radical agitation, and can only be discussed with such of the Radicals as admit the practicability, at some period or other, of Socialism. The number of the former of these parties, judging from my own personal observation, is constantly diminishing; whilst among the latter (and the fact strongly illustrates the utility of discussing this question) are to be found some of the most talented, active, and influential members of the Radical party. I freely acknowledge that this pamphlet is designed, as was the one already published, to provoke a friendly controversy upon this subject. Whether or not that effect would immediately follow, the time is not very far distant when the pretensions of

Radicalism to advance the interests of the working classes must be publicly and frequently put in comparison with those of Socialism, for to the Socialists the co-operation of the Radicals is too invaluable for them much longer to allow—so far as depends upon their power of persuasion—of the enormous waste of the means of bettering their condition consequent on the course which the Radicals are now pursuing.

FINIS.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE PEOPLING OF UTOPIA; or, the Sufficiency of Socialism for Human Happiness: being a Comparison between the Social and Radical Schemes.

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